

Da'wa, Muslim Millennials and Social Media

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Abstrak

Pertautan antara agama dan dunia maya menjadi keniscayaan di era siber. Internet, dalam hal ini sosial media, mengubah banyak pola dan bentuk komunikasi. Media sosial turut menjadi saluran yang secara massif digunakan oleh para pendakwah Indonesia selama kurang lebih satu dasawarsa terakhir. Dakwah di media sosial menghadirkan sejumlah tantangan dan peluang, lebih-lebih ketika berhadapan dengan generasi milenial sebagai pengguna mayoritas. Penelitian ini bermaksud ingin menggambarkan fenomena dakwah di media sosial di kalangan muslim milenial. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif deskriptif dengan studi kepustakaan sebagai metode pengumpulan data. Kesimpulan penelitian ini adalah terdapat tiga poin utama dalam melihat dakwah, muslim milenial dan sosial media. Pertama, karakter generasi milenial yang cenderung out of the box dan selalu terkoneksi internet sedikit banyak mengubah lanskap dakwah di Indonesia. Mereka perlahan meninggalkan dakwah konvensional, baik dari segi pilihan tema maupun metode. Popularitas dakwah Hanan Attaki menjadi salah satu penanda. Kedua, media sosial meski memiliki sumbangsih positif bagi dakwah namun juga meninggalkan sejumlah catatan yang menuntut perhatian, seperti kadangkalan dakwah, mudahnya menyebar ujaran kebencian, keengganan mengakses sumber primer dan masalah filter kualitas dai. Ketiga, menilik generasi milenial yang memiliki ciri toleran, pluralis serta mampu menghargai perbedaan dan keberagaman mendatangkan peluang bagi semakin berkembangnya dakwah Islam moderat di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Dakwah, Media Sosial, dan Milenial.

Abstract

The link between religion and cyberspace has become a necessity in the cyber era. The internet, in this case social media, changes many patterns and forms of communication. Social media has become a massive channel used by Indonesian preachers for the past decade or so. Da'wah on social media presents a number of challenges and opportunities, especially when dealing with millennials as majority users. This study intends to describe the phenomenon of da'wah on social media among millennial Muslims. This research is a descriptive qualitative research with literature study as a data collection method. The conclusion of this study is that there are three main points in viewing da'wa, millennial Muslims and social media. First, the character of millennial generation who tend to be out of the box and always connected to the internet more or less changes the da'wah landscape in Indonesia. They slowly leave the conventional da'wa, both in terms of theme and method choices. The popularity Hanan Attaki's da'wah became one of the markers. Secondly, social media despite having a

positive contribution to da'wah but also left a number of notes that demand attention, such as prejudice, easy spread of hate speech, reluctance to access primary sources and quality filter problems. Third, looking at millennial generations who have the characteristics of tolerance, pluralism and being able to appreciate diversity brings opportunities for the development of moderate Islamic da'wah in Indonesia.

Keywords: Da'wah, Millenials, and Social Media.

A. Background

Nowadays, the interaction between religion and the cyberworld (including social media) is unavoidable. Yasraf Amir Piliang traces the changing of religious rituals in the cyber era and suggests that cyberspace offers new ways of accommodating functions, roles, and activities regarding religious rituals. Those new ways could be utilized to redefine the meaning of place, space, and territories. Hence, places once used to perform religious rituals will eventually claim spaces in the cyber world as real-world holy sites move to virtual holy sites.¹

What Piliang imagined has today become mainstream idea. It is not extraordinary to see netizen (internet citizens) pray on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. Da'wa using social media is also not a new idea today. Sacred religious rituals have migrated to the cyberspace. Something “real” have moved to the surreal “virtual”. Piliang even anticipated extreme case such as the emergence cyber-mosque in the future.

Nevertheless, Piliang expressed his pessimism of cyberspace. He noted two weak points of cyberspace, namely the artificial and alien nature of cyberspace. According to Piliang, cyberspace has created a situation where the intensity of alienation level is increasing, and humanity is being detached from their bodies due to the tendency to centralize attentions to information rather than direct experiences.²

¹Yasraf Amir Piliang, *Bayang-Bayang Tuhan: Agama dan Imajinasi*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2011), 291.

²Yasraf Amir Piliang, *Bayang-Bayang Tuhan: Agama dan Imajinasi*, 278.

Moreover, Piliang explained, one of many empirical limitations of the cyberspace is that the cyberspace is merely a simulation, an artificial world, and man-made artificial intelligence. Piliang added that many forms of religious rituals in many religions that involve physical experience (involving the body) act as a reminder of religious sacredness. Such reminder of sacredness and spiritual experiences behind them could be found in many stories of religious experience such as in the case of Hajj (Islamic religious pilgrimage to Mecca). However, what is considered as a reminder of sacredness could also be found on the cyberspace.³

Jeff Zaleski, an expert on the phenomenon of cyberspace and spirituality, on the other hand, offers a middle-ground point of view. Zaleski stated that cyberspace is a free arena with many patterns that is not always positive. However, cyberspace must be accepted as a result of the advancement of technology while at the same time all bad things coming from the cyberspace must be rejected. Today, there are many bad things that comes from the cyberspace such as cyber-crime and widespread of hate speech and hoax via social media. Zaleski recommends that there must be a balancing force for the cyberspace in order to prevent cyberspace to have only one face, a cruel one. The presence of religions on the cyberspace is one means to such an end.⁴

Zaleski reveals the intricate relation between religions and new technology and challenges emerged due to the colonization of cyberspace. He also depicts how religions are at race with one another in utilizing the cyberspace to transform rituals, organizations, congregations, and even core ideas of their respective religions.⁵

Internet has indeed become a primary source of reference for religious issues. This phenomenon has been discussed by scholars such Shelina Janmohamed in her book *Generation M*. Janmohammed quoted on of her

³Yasraf Amir Piliang, *Bayang-Bayang Tuhan: Agama dan Imajinasi*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2011), 279.

⁴Jeff Zaleski, *Spiritualitas Cyberspace: Bagaimana Teknologi Komputer Mempengaruhi Kehidupan Beragama Manusia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999).

⁵Jeff Zaleski, *Spiritualitas Cyberspace: Bagaimana Teknologi Komputer Mempengaruhi Kehidupan Beragama Manusia*.

informants from Nigeria, Usman, about how he uses internet. According to Usman, internet has been used to search for information regarding to Islamic issues. For example, when he wants to know what the fiqh (Islamic laws) says about difficult issue. For him, internet gives him freedom to ask anything including things he is too ashamed to ask directly to an Ustadz (cleric).⁶

A closer look into the views of Piliang, Zaleski, and Janmohamed reveals that there is a strong connection between the internet and religion. This phenomenon has found its almost concrete manifestation in today's era when internet has become extremely accessible due to the massive proliferation of Gadgets in society. Coupled with the increasing enthusiasm of performing religion, the use of gadgets that simultaneously connect to the internet has massive impact on the changing pattern of communication among people in society.

Recent data suggest that internet users in Indonesia in December 2017 have reached 143.260.000 users or around 53.7% of the total population of Indonesia. In this regard, facebook.com has managed to gain around 130.000.000 user in the country.⁷ The data mentioned above showcase the fact that internet users in Indonesia constitute a very big population, especially internet users whose main online activity relate to social media.

Internet and social media in Indonesia have been utilized in several ways, including to spread the words of Islam known as Da'wa. Internet has become a massive channel for Indonesian preachers in the last ten years, especially the use of social media. Da'wa through social media has brought about challenges and opportunities, especially when the targeted audience of such Da'wa comes from millennial population as the main users of social media.

Regarding this, Muhammad Adam stated that most religious clerics and preachers today who are not catching up with the digital current risk to lose their congregations. According to Adam, the way people learn about religious issue -

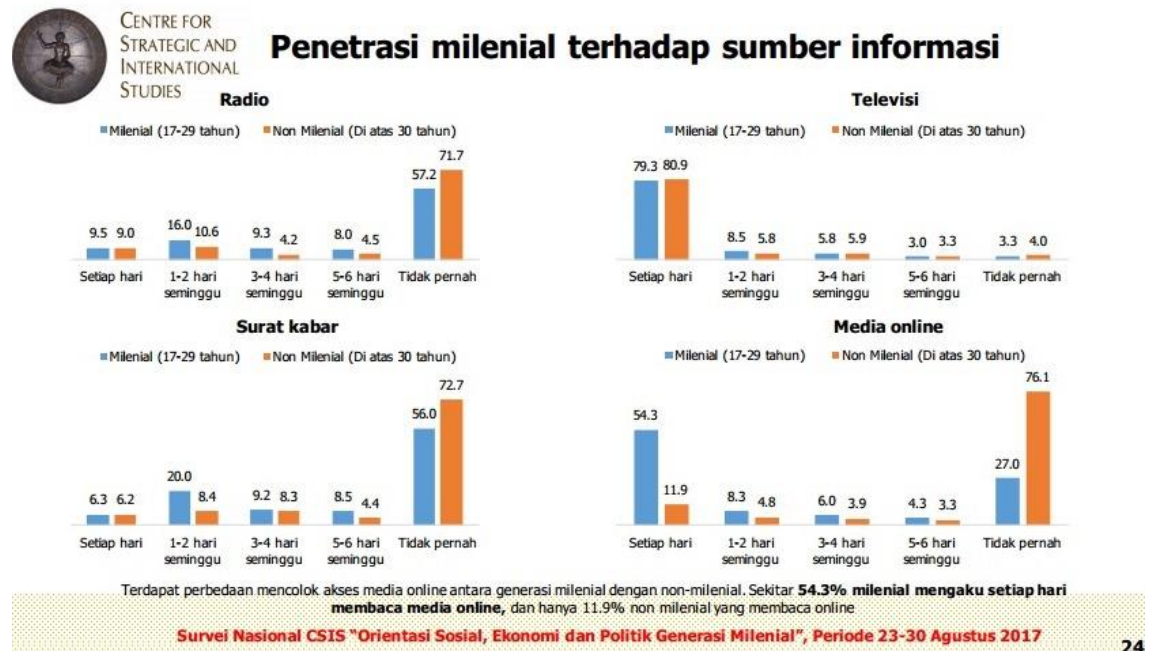
⁶Shelina Janmohamed, *Generation M: Generasi Muda Muslim dan Cara Mereka Membentuk Dunia*, (Yogyakarta: Bentang, 2017), 94.

⁷Asia Internet Use, Population Data and Facebook Statistics December 2017 <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats3.htm#asia> accessed on September 23rd, 2018.

popularly known as 'ngaji'- is technology-oriented. He uses the term digitally sensitive Da'wa to refer to the ongoing utilization of internet to perform Da'wa as practiced by Abdul Shomad. He also uses the term 'game of image' to refer to Hanan Attaki's style of dress when performing Da'wa.⁸

In November 2017, a think-tank group, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) released a report on a nation-wide survey in country about the prevalence of internet users in the country. The data shows that 81% of millennials in the country use facebook.com and made this site the most accessed site in the country followed by twitter.com. The same survey also shows that 54.3% of millennials read online media on daily basis.⁹ Data mentioned above indicate that millennials are closely interlinked with the internet, especially the social media. This makes the phenomenon of millennial generation's familiarity with social media is worth researching.

Picture 1
How millennials access information



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⁸Muhammad Adam, *Ngaji "Zaman Now" ala Generasi Milenial dalam Muslim Milenial: Catatan dan Kisah Wow Muslim Zaman Now*, (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 2018), 106-112.

⁹Centre for Strategic and International Studies. *Ada Apa dengan Milenial? Orientasi Ekonomi, Sosial dan Politik Generasi Milenial*, (Jakarta: CSIS, 2017).

Being a user of social media means that participation is inevitable. The contribute to the participation occurred online by doing online activities such as sharing status update, photos, news, et cetera. Such activities will gain feedback from other users. Another characteristic of social media is openness. Social media offer an open platform to share information with other users in the form of comments, and chats. Social media is communal because users make online communities according to similar interests in terms of political affiliation, hobby, and others. Lastly, social media offer interconnectedness that link peoples and other source of information.¹⁰

The relative strength of social media in comparison to other forms of media lies in its ability to facilitate communication for everyone split by different space and time. For instance, the communication of a Major of a Region via Instagram to inform his/her constituents. The provision of public services, thus, can be made easier due to the possibility to escape the hierarchical procedures. Social media can also forge the mentality of its users because social media has several models of communication. However, such relative strengths come with limitations such as the reduction of the quality of communication. In this regard, the quality of communication is likely to decrease because people who communicate using social media do not experience face-to-face interaction. Social media also decrease social skills of people who use it due to too intense interaction with computers and gadgets. On certain level, social media could lead to the emergence of the sense of apathy and the feeling of alienation from the real world.¹¹

We Are Social and Hootsuite released data on most used social media in Indonesia. The result is as follows: YouTube 43%, Facebook 41%, WhatsApp 40%, Instagram 38%, Line 33%, BlackBerry Messenger 28% and Twitter 27%. That research also reveals data showing that on the average Indonesian spend 3

¹⁰Antony Mayfield, *What is Social Media*, (United Kingdom: iCrossing, 2008), 6.

¹¹Jan Van Dijk, *The Network Society: Social Aspects of New Media*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2006).

hours and 23 minutes to access social media and 8 hours and 51 minutes to surf on the internet.¹²

Abovementioned data suggests that the opportunity to reach wider audience for Da'wa through the internet is widely open. Regarding millennial generation who are more familiar with social media, such opportunity is even wider. Millennial generation in Indonesia holds much be of important concern because this generation will shape the future of Da'wa in the country in years to come.¹³ However, computer mediated communication is not without any problem since it differs significantly with non-mediated face-to-face communication. The former type of communication contains high risk of misconception. It means that information passed through the computer mediated platform is at risks of distortion that could lead to misinterpretation among parties involved.

B. Da'wa on the Internet

Several researches have tried to reveal to phenomenon of Da'wa in the online world. Da'wa via the internet is considered effective because of the nature of internet that is unbounded by time and space. Materials regarding Islamic teachings can be shared in no time through internet at essentially no cost. This type of Da'wa could reach everyone every where as long as the targeted audience has internet connection to access the virtual world. Pardianto, for example, stated several benefits of using internet to enhance the reach of Da'wa such as Da'wa could reach everyone across time and space, the message of Da'wa could be substantially more attractive, Da'wa can be performed with relatively very low cost, and Da'wa could reach very wide audience since the number of internet users are constantly increasing.¹⁴

Pardianto's research concludes three things, namely (1) Muslims must utilize the internet to enhance Da'wa as optimal as possible, (2) Muslims should

¹²130 Juta Orang Indonesia Tercatat Aktif di Medsos <https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-3912429/130-juta-orang-indonesia-tercatat-aktif-di-medsos> diakses September 23rd 2018.

¹³Subhan Setowara. *Tentang Muslim Milenial dan Kiprah Mereka dalam Muslim Milenial: Catatan dan Kisah Wow Muslim Zaman Now*. (Bandung:Penerbit Mizan, 2018), 1.

¹⁴Pardianto, "Meneguhkan Dakwah Melalui New Media" *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* Vol. 3, No. 1 (2013): 33.

master internet technology to be able to access and spread Islamic teachings to people on the internet, and (3) Muslims should have a good grasp on the nature of Da'wa in internet (*dakwah bil internet*) as it is become more important nowadays.¹⁵ As the use of internet becomes mainstream, it is not surprising to find out that many popular traditional preachers such as Gus Mus, Aa Gym, Yusuf Mansur and others, use internet as a platform to perform their Da'wa. Not only because it erases the distance between preachers and audiences but also because it is one the most convenience way of performing Da'wa.

Another account on Da'wa on the internet, especially on the social media, comes from Wahyu Budiantoro. According to him, it should have been mainstream today for Islam to integrate itself into the development of technology. Because technology would offer many opportunities to the development of the Muslim community known as the Ummah, the emergence of Da'wa online must be celebrated by establishing proper institutions to ensure the success of online Da'wa in the future.¹⁶

Hidayatullah, on the other hand, studies the utilization of Twitter as a medium for Da'wa, especially in the forms of Da'wa tweet or known as Kultwit (acronym for Kuliah and Twitter that suggest the integration of social media practice and a more traditional understanding of giving lectures). Hidayatullah's account on this issue concludes that Twitter can become a medium of information exchange between preachers and younger generations in the country since it is very popular among young people. Twitter is also considered as a unique way of being relevant with the rapid development of information technology.¹⁷

The accounts of Pardianto, Budiantoro, and Hidayatullah are optimistic in perceiving the future of Da'wa on the internet or social media, conclusion that is not in agreement with the conclusion of this paper. In line with studies conducted

¹⁵Pardianto, "Meneguhkan Dakwah Melalui New Media", 43.

¹⁶Wahyu Budiantoro, "Dakwah di Era Digital" Jurnal Komunika Vol. 11, No. 2 (2017): 279-280.

¹⁷Ahmad Fathan Hidayatullah, "Twitter sebagai Media Dakwah" Jurnal Teknoin Vol. 22 No. 1 (2016): 43.

by Ahmad Zaini¹⁸ and Murniaty Sirajuddin¹⁹ on Da'wa in the cyber world, this study argues that the proliferation of Da'wa in the cyber world brought about not only opportunities but also challenges that could turn Da'wa into meaningless activities. This paper argues that Da'wa should be critically scrutinized by shedding light on the phenomenon of millennial generations' exposure to Da'wa on the internet of social media.

A more critical perspective on Da'wa via the social media also comes from Eko Sumadi. According to Sumadi, social media has been proven to be an effective channel of Da'wa. However, there are many aspects that need to be considered. The most important thing a preacher should pay full attention is the exercise of ethics while using social media. Even though freedom of expression on the internet is protected by laws, preachers who use social media for Da'wa must comply to unwritten social norms and rules. It is never okay to convey Da'wa on the internet in a manner that is aggressive and discriminatory.²⁰

C. Millennial Generation and Digital Da'wa

Many social science scholars have different opinions about the division of generations. Yanuar Surya Putra compiled those differences onto table below:²¹

Table 1
Classification of Generations according to Experts

Source	Label		
Tapscott (1998)	Baby Boom Generation (1946-1964)	Generation X (1965-1975)	Digital Generation (1976-2000)
Howe & Strauss (2000)	Boom Generation (1943-1960)	13th Generation (1961-1981)	Millenial Generation (1982-2000)
Zemke et al (2000)	Baby Boomers (1943-1960)	Gen-Xers (1960-1980)	Nexters (1980-1999)

¹⁸Ahmad Zaini, "Dakwah Melalui Internet" Jurnal At-Tabsyir Vol. 1, No. 1 (2013): 93-108

¹⁹Murniaty Sirajudin, "Pengembangan Strategi Dakwah Melalui Internet (Peluang dan Tantangan)", Jurnal Al-Irsyad Al-Nafs, Vol. 1, No.1 (2014): 11-23.

²⁰Eko Sumadi, "Dakwah dan Media Sosial: Menebar Kebaikan Tanpa Diskrimasi" Jurnal At-Tabsyir Vol. 4, No. 1 (2016): 189.

²¹Yanuar Surya Putra. "Theoretical Review: Teori Perbedaan Generasi" Jurnal Among Pakarti Vol. 9, No. 18 (2016): 125.

Lancaster & Stillman (2002)	Baby Boomers (1946-1964)	Generation Xers (1965-1980)	Generation Y (1981-1999)
Martin & Tulgan (2002)	Baby Boomers (1946-1964)	Generation X (1965-1977)	Millenials (1978-2000)
Oblinger & Oblinger (2005)	Baby Boomers (1947-1964)	Generation Xers (1965-1980)	Gen-Y/ NetGen (1981-1995)

Table above shows that there are differences in terms of applying the concept of generation to groups of population based on their year of birth. The term millennial has long been associated with particular group of populations that were born in particular period of time in the modern age. These differences in applying the term millennials have led to the emergence of agreement that millennials should apply to those who were born during 1976 to 2000. However, the term millennial today is more relevant with the classification of millennial as those who were born during 1980 to 2000.

Each generation has its own characteristic. Millennial, for example, has been considered more realistic, optimistic, and tolerant. According to Lancaster and Stillman, millennial generation values diversity and prefer to work together rather than receiving instructions. This generation is also more pragmatic when solving problems, more focused on achievement, more confident, and more respectful towards social and moral values.²²

Yuswohady et al use the term Gen M to refer to a generation of Muslims in Indonesia who were born during 1989-1993. This generation of Muslims have characteristics such as more religious, modern, always connected to the internet, consumptive, humanistic, and inclusive. Yuswohady et al also introduce the term “the new cool” that refer to Gen M. One example of “the new cool” is the life style of halal, ziswaf, Muslims entrepreneurship and digital Da'wa.²³

²²Yanuar Surya Putra, “Theoretical Review: Teori Perbedaan Generasi” Jurnal Among Pakarti Vol. 9, No. 18 (2016): 125.

²³Yuswohady dkk, *Gen M: Generation Muslim* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Bentang, 2017).

Another perspective on the classification of generation comes from Muhammad Faisal.²⁴ Classification by Faizal is undertaken under the assumption that the current classification of generation is not adequate to capture the complexity of the Indonesian context. According to Faisal, Indonesia has its own unique characteristic, including on categorization of generations. Below is classification of generation according to Faisal:

Table 3
Division of Generation according to Muhammad Faisal

Generation	Icon	Challenges	Point of Views	Social Movements
Alpha Adolescent: 1900-1930	Soekarno-Hatta, Tan Malaka, Sutan Sjahrir, Buya Hamka, et cetera	Colonialism, uniting the nation	Ideological, religious, primordial, nationalistic, and communal	Budi Utomo, Sarekat Islam, Perhimpunan Pelajar-Pelajar Indonesia
Beta Adolescent: 1930-1966	Soeharto, BJ Habibie, Adam Malik, Bung Tomo, et cetera	Political and economic instability, building the republic, infiltration of threatening ideologies	Heroic, optimistic about the future, ideological, highly communal	Political Parties (PNI, Masyumi, etc.), Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia (KAMI)
Omega Adolescent: 1970-1998	Iwan Fals, Budiman Sudjatmiko, Dono-Kasino-Indro, et cetera	Fierce competition, limited space for expressions, individualism, impacts of foreign culture	Adaptive, Competitive, <i>social climber</i> , pursuing special skills.	University Student social movements (PMII, HMI, IMM, GMNI, Forkot)
Phi Adolescent: Awal abad 21	Dian Pelangi, Raisa, Rio Haryanto, Aliando Syarief, et cetera	The effect of mobile digital technology, radicalism, free market, impact of	Towards <i>passion</i> , creative, pluralist, communal, <i>alienated</i> ,	Indonesian Youth Conference, Indonesia Unite, Young on Top,

²⁴Muhammad Faisal, *Generasi Phi: Memahami Milenial Pengubah Indonesia* (Jakarta: Republika Penerbit, 2017), 7.

	foreign life styles	sensitive	Pemuda Hijrah (Shift)
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Faisal based his classification of generation on the history of Indonesia. Generation Phi, for example, is described as a generation of those who were born during 1989 to 2000. For Faisal, the reform movement of the 1998 is an important marking point for Indonesians. Generation Phi, thus, belongs to those who were not yet born of those who were under five when the reform movement took place. The implication for them is that they have more fluid and flexible ways of thinking.²⁵

What interesting about this division of generation according to Faisal is the social movements that emerged during respective periods of each generation. In this regard, Pemuda Hijrah (Shift) is one of the markers of social movements in the context of generation Phi (millennial). This movement was initiated by Hannan Attaki, a popular preacher among youth today. He is closely associated with “kupluk” or a keffiyeh, casual jacket, and overall fashion style that differs starkly with other conventional preachers. Besides that, topic of Da'wa this preacher usually talk is closely related to the issue of youth. The topic of Hijrah is one of those.

²⁵Muhammad Faisal, *Generasi Phi: Memahami Milenial Pengubah Indonesia* (Jakarta: Republika Penerbit, 2017), 4.

Picture 2
Instagram account of Hanan Attaki



Report from Tempo Magazine, 18-24 June 2018 edition, highlight the Da'wa of Hannan Attaki. With his team, Hannan Attaki tries to maximize the use of social media, especially Instagram. According to the report, Instagram is popular among those who are under 30. Hanan gets helps from six people from Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah (Pemuda Hijrah Movement) to organize social media for Da'wa. One of many social media contents that characterize Hannan Attaki's work is One Minute Booster. This type of content contains Hannan Attaki's most famous recorded preaching in short and cut form. Pemuda Hijrah Movement also produced videos with skateboard and motorist communities to signify their inclusive tendency of doing Da'wa.²⁶

Hanan Attaki became popular on social media because of his good Da'wa management and sufficient resources. This success is reflected by huge number of followers he has managed to attract. His Da'wa videos are also shared in huge numbers by millennial generation and generation Z. However, this success put in question the motivation of those who share such videos and join the online Da'wa bandwagon. It is suspicious that people follow the preacher merely due to his online fame and not because of his mastery of Islamic teachings. According to

²⁶Ustad juga Manusia, Tempo 18-24 Edition, June: 2018, 31.

Ala'i Nadjib, Da'wa enterprises on social media should be practiced by those who have capacity in terms of his or her chains of knowledge, meaning that his knowledge on Islamic teachings should come from authoritative sources.²⁷

Ai Fatimah Nur Fuad stated her critics towards the phenomenon of Da'wa in the digital era. According to her, nowadays "instant ulamas" are proliferating out of social media. Such instant pseudo scholars of Islamic teachings then offer what she calls 'pamphlet Islam', a type of Islamic understandings that put brief, simple, and attractive message before the clarity of the messages. For Ai, such type of Islamic understanding has become very important commodity in the today's digital era.²⁸

Critics towards Hannan Attaki's style of Da'wa comes from M. Fakhru Riza. For Riza, amidst the threat of radicalization of religion, Da'wa should be practiced for inciting critical thinking among audiences instead of merely following the tide of social media that demands for short and practical messages. According to Riza, Hannan Attaki's Da'wa just showcases the "symbolic Islam" because audience is not positioned as active and critical but as passive and receptive.²⁹ The characteristic of social media that rely on limited space and as a highly mediated platform makes it possible for the Da'wa messages towards the audience to be distorted.

Other challenges of practicing Da'wa on social media nowadays come from the tendency to monetize the practice of Da'wa itself. YouTube, for example, could be a promising source of income if managed properly. Tempo Magazine, for instance, reported that Abdul Shomad, a highly popular preacher in Indonesia, could make around 400 million rupiah monthly only from YouTube.³⁰ Even though such practice of monetizing Da'wa is not forbidden according to

²⁷Ala'i Nadjib, *Sanad Keilmuan di Tengah Ustaz Google dan Pengajian Online on Muslim Milenial: Catatan dan Kisah Wow Muslim Zaman Now* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 2018), 124.

²⁸Ai Fatimah Nur Fuad, *Ketika Otoritas Dakwah Berubah Haluan* dalam buku *Muslim Milenial: Catatan dan Kisah Wow Muslim Zaman Now* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 2018), 127.

²⁹Dakwah Hari Ini Butuh Dakwah yang Dialogis <https://islami.co/hannan-attaki-dakwah-hari-ini-butuh-dakwah-yang-dialogis/>

³⁰Tempo 18-24 edition, June: 2018, Alfa Records (company managing the dissemination of recorded videos of Abdul Somad) in cooperation with Indonesia Digital Entertainment to optimize Abdul Somad's YouTube channel.

sharia, at one point, preachers on social media is vulnerable to be entrapped by the tendency to commercialize Da'wa. Thus, such preachers main goal could deviate from bringing social changes to gaining as much as possible personal benefits.

The tale of online Da'wa did not stop on the commercialization of the very practice of Da'wa itself. The proliferation of online Da'wa leads to other concern. The relatively short, instant, and practical messages of Islamic teachings on the online Da'wa is deemed responsible for the decreasing interest of Muslims to learn directly from authoritative sources of Islamic teachings such as classical books of Islamic scholars. Consumers of online Da'wa seem to believe that the internet and social media alone can answer all their questions, especially questions related to religious matters. This techno savvy generation of Muslims tend to be unfamiliar with main Islamic teachings' references.³¹

This millennials' unwillingness to look for knowledge from mainstream authoritative sources of Islamic teachings, coupled with the proliferation of extreme Da'wa on the internet and social media, could lead to the emergence of online radicalization. For example, YouTube channel with the name of Cahaya Tawhid offers many Da'wa contents that could seduce people to become radicals. The messages on this channel are mainly political in nature. Having the freedom of expression protected by laws, Cahaya Tauhid and similar YouTube channels could proliferate rapidly on the internet. This will eventually lead to counterproductive Da'wa.³²

D. Conclusion

This paper concludes: (1) the characteristic of millennial generation that tend to think out of the box and is always connected to the internet have changed the landscape of Da'wa in Indonesia. They slowly leave the conventional Da'wa both in terms of topics and methods as reflected by the growing popularity of

³¹Sceptic opinions about this issue has been discussed by Komarudin Hidayat dan Zuly Qodir. See *Tempo* 18-24 Edition, June: 2018, 36-37.

³²This channel has 236.000 subscribers as per September 28th, 2018. On their description it reads: this channel contains video clips of Sunna scholars.
<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCh16gu7pE3VlxaeYjqL3gIg/featured>

Da'wa style practiced by preachers such as Hannan Attaki. (2) social media gives positive contributions for the practice of Da'wa even though it can also bring negative consequences such as the emergence of artificial Da'wa, unfinished Da'wa, and the proliferation of hate speech in the name of Da'wa. Muslim consumers of online Da'wa are also enticed to leave the main Islamic teachings references for instant teachings available of internet. (3) Online Da'wa among millennials could also lead to the proliferation of moderate Islam of *rahmatan lil alamin* due to the characteristic of Muslim millennials who tend to be tolerant, believe in pluralism, and respecting diversity.

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